MAN!

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

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ANARCHISTS ARE TOTALLY PACIFISTS

Anarchists are totally, sentimentally and rationally pacifists. Endowed with an acute sensibility, the libertarian revolts at the only thought of the human sacrifice, slaughter, devastation, ruin, suffering, sorrow, ferocity, and savagery that fatally go with war. At the idea of the dreadful horror his heart bleeds, his conscience boils and he feels an unconquerable loathing for the wretches who prepare it; in him burst out an unbounded dislike mixed up with hatred and commiseration for the idiot and coward who either through ignorance or fear, consent to take part in the killing. This is the sentimental side of it.

Now let us take the rational side. To abhor and fight war, to oppose with all their strength the power used by wealth and governments in agreement with general staff and diplomacy to deceive the people, the Anarchists do not only listen to their hearts, they also hear the voice of reason which speaks clear and with a high pitch.

Indeed, the voice of reason pitches clear; the Anarchists have an adequate, categorical, solid and roomy outline; the instauration of a social midst in which a maximum of Well-being and Freedom will be assured to every one without exception. Such is the motto, the aim and ideal the libertarians intend to realize.

Here, there is no need to argue very long to prove that the first part of the motto "Well-being" can not express a state of fact under capitalism; when a social system includes upon the economical ground men who have and men who have not, the later only disposing of wages granted them by the former, Well-being can not be assured to the ones as well as to the others.

And likewise in the political domain; the social regime is composed of men who govern and men who are governed—the latter are compelled to submit to the authority of the former and consequently it is entirely impossible to have Freedom assured to governors and governed.

A social organization in which everything belongs to a few necessary engenders the exploitation of those who have nothing "the workers" by those who have all "the capitalists."

And running parallel, we see that a social organization in which everybody is forced to obey a few, inevitably induces the domination of those who order "the rulers" upon those who are compelled to obey "the governed."

Thus, it plainly follows that the assured Well-being and Freedom for all can only be consecutive of the abolition of capitalism and the doing away with the State. And that is the aim of the Anarchists' propaganda and action. I think this outline is precise and its meaning clear.

Again, let us connect the Peace problem and the social regime which conditions these essential and fundamental notions: Truthfully, the Anarchists replace the adjective "capitalist" by the adjective "social" for they not only affirm but also demonstrate that the cause of war does not reside uniquely in the economical structure of society but in its organic form as a whole. War is not always instigated by economic competition but it is brought about by psychological causes called forth, developed, heated and at times pitched up by governmental necessities, religious influences, prejudices, animosity, distrust flowing out from the variances in nationality, oppositions and race. This is well attested by multiple examples taken from history; by a deep study and an impartial observation of the State that provokes war and the pressure undergone by the individual who makes it. And so the libertarians impute the responsibility of all wars without exception to the Social regime: economic, politic, intellectual and moral.

Then, from the above statement we see that to be opposed to all wars, one must also oppose the whole social regime and not only a partial economic manifestation of the system: Capitalism. Social conservative political parties who defend Capitalism and the State are not and can not be pacifists; while parties who's only aim is an economical transformation with the maintenance and strengthening of the State are and can simply be half-pacifists. Set up to do away with Capitalism and the State, both fomenters of war, the libertarians are totally pacifists.

However, I have admitted that there can be some exceptions; but I persist to state, and this sums up my thoughts: "All those who are totally pacifists are not anarchists; but all anarchists are totally pacifists."

And I conclude: Peace, the upshot, indestructive Peace can only see the light and develop in a social midst that will have entirely done away with the capitalistic regime and the State.

Neither riches nor poverty!
Neither governors nor governed!
Neither Gods nor Masters!

Then, but only then all causes of war having disappeared, Peace shall bloom.

Then, but only then, all will live in midst of Well-being, Freedom, and Peace.

SEBASTIAN FAURE.

(*Translated by Jules Scarceriaux from* "Le Libertaire.)

The Menace of Deportations

On Friday night, December 27, 1935, *at midnight, Oscar Mannisto, 50 years old, was placed on board the S. S. Hamburg for Finland. Mannisto came to the United States in 1912, and has been a member of the Typographical Union, A. F. of L., for twenty years. He leaves here a wife and three children in Astoria, Oregon. He was arrested in the printing shop Toveri where he was working in February, 1931, and charged with belonging to an organization that believes in the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Evidence showed that he had been a member of the Communist Party up to 1925. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the International Labor Defense fought his deportation to the Supreme Court. All the appeals to Frances Perkins, the Labor Secretary, proved in vain.*

In view of the scores of other radicals facing the same fate as Oscar Mannisto, the time has now come when all those organizations fighting for the various victims to be must stop to consider if all the past paper protests addressed to the very same Labor Department that institutes and carries out the apprehending, persecution and executions of all deportation cases is anything else but a waste of well-intentioned labor and funds that are being expended.

Some of the deportation victims as Ferrero and Sallitto, Miller, Bayer, Werman, and many others, face deportation to such countries as Italy and Germany, where either a torterous imprisonment or death awaits them. And the question arises before us all: what are we going to do about it?

If all those labor organizations who have aided morally the fight against the deportation of all radicals that have been chosen as victims, because of their militancy, wish to be consistent, they must now realize that something more than mere paper protests addressed to the very persecuting authorities of labor are needed in order to stop the wave of impending deportations. If all these labor organizations would declare their readiness to immediately declare a protest strike against every sort of deportation and persecution of radicals, there can be but little doubt that "liberal" Madame Frances Perkins with all the rest of the "New Deal" administration will be more apt to cease their nefarious and shameless work than they have been effected by all the paper appeals or paper protests.

Direct revolutionary action, via a general strike, is the only course left open for labor to strike back at the wave of deportations instituted by the administration of Franklin D Roosevelt.

Chicory Corners Correspondence

Hazy, lazy glamor of August afternoons seeps into the lunchroom rendezvous of the Havajava Club but it's cooler, much cooler in the beautiful nearby park where Cy Warman wrote the words of "Sweet Marie" at midnight after taking his sweetheart home to the convent school.

If you pass through the "Harley Street" of Huronopolis on your way to the park, you may go past the home of the daughter and son-in-law of Richard Maurice Bucke, pioneer metaphysical thinker and friend of Walt Whitman and Horace Traubel. When you stop to consider how aviation, radio, television and many other now de facto manifest things were plainly predicted in "Cosmic Consciousness," you may pardon me for feeling that I tread on prophetical ground. And I do not hesitate to tell you with conviction that SOCIAL REVOLUTION is abroad in a virile young nation of ten million people.

The Eads-Hovians loll on the grass, read heavy literature borrowed from a really excellent public library a block away, play cards, discuss Communism, philosophy, psychology, jobless relief, the latest somersaulting of Premier Mitch Hepburn and the Stevensic supptterings of the new Stevensian party.

All through the depression years when Toronto the Good went hysterical over Bolsheviphobia, or went "radical" and elected Jimmy Simpson as Christian Socialist mayor, Huronopolis has remained the most restrained city in Canada. Let me give the credit where it belongs, to a Russian Jew, Morris Hornstein, who came to Huronopolis in 1892. The Arbeiter Ring he established became the one always trustworthy rallying point for workers. When strong A. F. of L. unions were craven and cowardly in war time, the Arbeiter Ring continued its work without publicity or hindrance. When Home Colony was launched at Lake Bay, Washington, Huronopolis was well-represented. When Home Colony failed, the Huronopolitans returned home.

When arrests were made for sedition in other cities, Huronopolis maintained her vaunted sophistication. "People are entitled to their own opinions," the chief of police obligingly allowed himself to be quoted in the newspapers. Comrade Lerner in Los Angeles who was co-founder of the "Radical Club," the Sunday night forum in Market Lane, which police magistrates in Toronto and Hamilton vowed they would never tolerate in their cities, may tell you how anarchism can work and does work to mitigate the hysteria and bitterness of war-time. It was twice as easy and perhaps a lot pleasanter to the conscience than the devilish "patriotic" propaganda of George Creel. But the anarchists of the old Radical Club have become Communists and C.C.F.'ers. Out of the ranks of the unemployed the Eads-Hovian Society has patiently worked to train others to take their place. In the name of the kindly, millionaire hobo, James Eads How, a new libertarian and humanist faith has been spread through the "jungles" from Windsor to Montreal.

A. Prudhommeaux, editor of *Terre Libre,* is an anarcho-psychologist or psycho-anarchist, whom the "Havajavanese" joyously discovered in the July-August issue of *MAN!* No doubt, he too, long ago read Duprat's "Morals the Psycho-Sociological Basis of Ethics." And Ernest Schleiffer who recalled days in Detroit in 1915 with Labadie, Shatoff, Cascaden, and others, may be interested to know that the old Beutler's cafe anarchism has lent its inspiration to Huronopolis and that Cascaden, now a Communist, visits Chicory Corners at least once a year. Cascaden is sincere and sincerity is always a valid passport among real people, whether friends or foes.

Let us go into every part of the childish world we have so long scorned. Let us cross our fingers and don clothes of humility. Let us try to understand the psychology of brother human minds who do go in for organizations and movements. We know we are nearer, much nearer the Truth than they are, but have we been doing the wise thing in parading our superior knowledge so long? Let us do, dare and keep silent. We have been talking too much, teaching too little.

I have been several times to an Oxford Group. One time I quoted Nietzsche and got away with it neatly. The next time I felt too friendly and was on the verge of "confessing" when they hinted I was trying to start a discussion. I will return not to confess but to dissimilate.

I've been through the "albatross complex" myself and I know it may take years to turn the switch for one's self. But I'm pretty sure that it can be done in a few evenings for some one else if one's interest is sufficiently sincere and devoted and one's knowledge of psychology and psycho-analysis is sufficiently ample.

NEIL TURNSPUR.

IS THE DAILY PRESS CONTROLLED?

(These facts that follow are taken from the extraordinary important book "Freedom of the Press, by George Seldes, published by The Bobbs-Merill Company in 1935.)

Mellon and the Law. Andrew Mellon, leading money hoarder of Pittsburgh had the Pennsylvania Legislature and Governor pass a law in 1911 whereby his wife (and all other women) should be deprived of a jury trial on her pending divorce.

Selling the Suppressed News. Since most local papers suppress real news of importance, many reporters sell such news to out of town small radical publications, often even giving such stories without compensation. In the case of *Justice* of Pittsburg, the police slugged all newsboys who came out to sell a special issue featuring the suppressed news by the Pittsburgh press.

Sacred Cows. "Like the majority of newspapers we had what Maxwell Anderson calls a son-of-a-bitch list, and what others call the roll of sacred cows. . . On this book we literally spiked stories which contained the names of personal enemies of the bosses, Flynn, Moore and Mellon and others. Our sacred cows were persons, advertisers, department stores, theatres about whom favorable notices were to be printed frequently. And in addition to all these, we had the universally famous B.O.M. or "Business Office Must," the press agent stuff . . . Every "must" item appeared."

Advertisers and Graft. "In Chicago the vice president of a department store is indicted for bribing city aldermen to obtain passage of an ordinance permitting him to bridge his two buildings. The press of Chicago obliges. For five days the trial goes on sensationally; for five days the newspapers of Chicago are silent. One German language newspaper brings the story."

Health and the Press. When the bubonic plague reached San Francisco in 1901 the big-business advertisers asked the newspapers to suppress the fact. The plague lasted ten years. The government agencies attempting to warn the population and the press attacking the government . . . When at the height of the Chicago World Fair an epidemic of amoebic dysentery attacked the city, not a word of it appeared in the press. Three days before the fair closed a note made its appearance that the situation was entirely under control and there was no need for any alarm whatsoever."

Wool and the Press. "I don't want to cancel the American Woolen Company's order . . . I am very much inclined to say we will run a half-page with you in March rather than a quarter-page. Mr. (William M.) Wood of the American Woolen Company is very sensitive."—Excerpt from an agent of the American Woolen Company's letter to *Collier's Weekly* which was exposing the influences in Washington on Schedule K of the tariff.

The Theatre and the Press. When William Winter continued unfavorable criticism on a theatre the advertiser forced him to resign from the New York *Tribune* . . . Walter Pritchard Eaton lost his position as Drama Critic in the same manner on the New York *Sun.*

Railroads and Oil, Hogs and the Press. Fremont Older charged the San Francisco *Bulletin* with being on the pay roll of the Southern Pacific Railroad. The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad paid about $400,000 a year for publicity purposes, that is (advertisements in newspapers . . . The famous Archbold letters showed how the Standard Oil was spending enormous sums in the from of subscriptions sent to editors . . . Following the exposure made by the appearance of Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle," the meat packers began to spend millions of dollars upon every publication that was willing to print its advertisements and reading matter.

Soaps and the Press. Proctor & Gamble, soap manufacturers, cancelled their advertising contracts with all newspapers which had used a syndicated article telling women how to make soap cheaply at home.

Munition Makers and the Press. Full-page advertisements in European newspapers describing the latest inventions of killing are mere bribes for the newspapers . . . When a campaign was started in this country to nationalize the war industry, the Bethlehem Steel Company ran a series of full-page advertisements in 3,257 publications at a cost of millions of dollars. Three congressional investigations have proved that the Bethlehem Company made hundreds of millions of surplus profits out of the United States Government Contracts.

Politics and the Press. The suppression of news concerning all parties excepting the Republican and Democratic ones is common knowledge. Nearly every country paper is bought by both parties through advertisements. The foreign-language press is bought in the same manner. Under the guise of "Americanization" some of the most eminent robbers, such as Mellon, Dupont, Insull and others, bought out a foreign advertising agency that reached four million readers for the sum of four hundred thousand dollars.

Drugs and the Press. When newspaperwomen had sent out a news story of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt supporting the Tugwell Drug Act which would force drug manufacturers to label their gods as to grade and quality—not a word of it appeared anywheres. But the drug concerns are spending millions on advertisements—so that the press should aid them in continuing to poison the people.

Advertising and the Press. James Rorty, in "Our Master's Voice: Advertising," estimates that the newspaper income is seventy-five per cent from advertising, and its total turnover about two billions.

Paper Trust, Banks and the Press. When the International Paper and Power Company began buying out newspapers it was revealed that the House of Morgan and other banking interests were really controlling the Paper Trust.

Utility Trust and the Press. The outright bribery by the Utility trusts of newspapers, college and school professors and teachers to the extent of dictating text books is now common knowledge. Seldes thinks about one out of ten newspapers refused the advertising bribes.

Teapot Dome and the Press. Investigations made show that the owners of the Denver *Post* received about one-quarter of a million dollars before they agreed to stop their attacks on Sinclair, Fall and President Harding. The New York *Times* called the investigators "scandalmongers and assassins of character."

Our War for Democracy and the Press. When the Nye Committee of Congress revealed on December 14, 1934, the text of the cablegram of Page (the American ambassador to England) sent by him to President Wilson on March 5, 1917, in which he urged our entrance into the war as *"the only way of maintaining our pre-eminent trade position,"* and which Wilson heeded to by declaring War on April 6, 1917—the Associated Press refused to send out the text of the cable, and only four leading daily newspapers who get the United Press wire printed the full text of the cable by Page.

Elections and the Press. Stephen F. O'Donnell, publisher of the Huntington Park *Signal* charged that in the 1934 campaign to defeat Upton Sinclair as Governor of California, the California Newspaper Publisher's Association accepted money from the California Brewers' Association "to pay for the authorship, printing and preparation of matrices, of articles."

La Follette, Roosevelt, Bankers and the Press. In 1912 Senator Robert M. La Follette not only decided to run for President against Roosevelt, as an independent, but had the courage to appear before the Periodical Publishers' Association, banqueting in Philadelphia, and deliver an attack on Wall Street and the rest of the robbers owning the country. The publishers ordered their pen scribes to report that Senator La Follette had a nervous breakdown while speaking before them! Colonel Dickinson, wrote 12 years later in the *World* that the leading banking interests of the country had underwritten Theodore Roosevelt's campaign.

The same disreputable press aided in the defeat of Charles A. Lindbergh's father for Governor of Minnesota in 1918, and forced the younger Lindbergh to declare: "Father had no adequate means of combatting a hysterical lying press."

The same sort of campaign was carried on by the press to aid in the defeat of Upton Sinclair for Governor of California in 1934.

The same dishonest press slandered the old Lindbergh, the old La Follette, Debs, Berkman and any one who had the courage to denounce Wilson's war for "democracy" as a mountebank scheme to protect the investments of Wall Street.

Strike Breaking and the Press. The General Strike in San Francisco in 1934 furnishes a striking proof of the utter dishonesty of the press. A secret conference was held by the publishers of all the daily newspapers in San Francisco—excepting one. There and then it was decided to fight the General Strike to death as a menacing revolution. The action of the press in behalf of the exploiting robbers was aided by the city and state government, as well as by most of the officials of the labor movement. It also led to the organized attacks of vigilantes upon every assembly place of radicals, hundreds of arrests and beatings of radicals—a spectacle that made Judge Lazarus remark in court: "I am disgusted to think that this good town should have acted like a pack of wolves." The self-styled liberal San Francisco *News* went as far as suppressing the daily column of Heywood Broun because of it being favorable to the strikers.

Child Labor and the Press. The daily press has often been shouting that the "freedom of the press" is in danger if the Child Labor Amendment should pass, and in a bulletin issued in 1932 to its members, the Publishers' Association revealed what really hurt them. It said that the Child Labor Amendment *"would suriously affect the newspapers' present system of using newspaper boys as a part of their distribution sales!"*

The Law and the Press. In every struggle by workers for the right to live—the daily press is ever ready to safeguard the sacredness of the law. But listen how they look upon the law—when it is about to affect their own pocket-books:

Following careful consideratin of all aspects of the present situatin, the A. N. P. A. recommends that newspaper publishers do not at the present time prepare or subscribe to a code under the National Industrial Recovery Act . . .

Wall Street and the Press. Marlin Pew, editor of *Editor* and *Publisher* created a sensation in April 1932 by publishing a story from Washington giving details of Representative La Guardia's statement before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency in which he gave the names of leading financial writers on the New York *Times*, New York *Herald-Tribune*, and of other newspapers who received sums aggregating $286,279 to ballyhoo stocks while the leading sharks were reaping the harvest.

The Associated Press that Supplies the News. Oswald Garrison Villard, who for years was a member of the board of directors of the Associated Press, charged the organization with suppressing the news that in Florida men, women and children were burned in an election riot because some negroes tried to vote. Also that ". . . the Associated Press was the medium of wholesale lying and crass misrepresentation in reporting some race troubles in Phillips County, Arkansas, which it portrayed to the American people as a 'negro rebellion . . . of more than local nature possibly planned for the entire South.'"

On November 16, 1926, the Assistant Secretary of State, Robert E. Olds, called in the representatives of news agencies and unfolded before them a lurid tale of Russia plotting against America, with Mexico as a base, and the Panama Canal in danger of occuaption by enemies. On November 17, the newspapers carrying the Associated Press service printed the concocted stories whilst the other news agencies refused to handle it.

Fremont Older charged that during the West Virginia strike "The provost marshal was not only the ruling officer of Paint Creek Junction; he was the Associated Press correspondent . . ."

In 1914 the *Masses* charged the Associated Press with poisoning the news of the Colorado strike.

Charles Edward Russell charged the Associated Press with releasing "a string of subtle and knavish falsehoods" about the Calumet strike.

John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor charged in a telegram:

The Associated Press reports of the packers' arbitration at Chicago are running true to form. You are suppressing the avalanche of hideous facts which show the injustice practiced against the workers and blazon forth as truths the lies and evasions of the packers. You are garbling and distorting your accounts to serve the selfish interests of packers and to help keep a hundred thusand suffering and struggling humans in a condition of abject slavery which means starvation and death for men, women and children.

Similar distortions repeated themselvces in the 1931 and 1932 strikes in Kentucky. Herndon Evans, editor of the Pinneville *Sun*, and correspondent of the Associated Press, reported the beating up of a delegation of writers as "a fight between themselves!"

Strangest of all things is the fact that the Associated Press has never sued for libel any one who has come forward to expose it as a poisonous news gathering agency in behalf of the ruling robbers of the country.

The New York Times. Since the *Times* has also its own news agencies throughout the world—Seldes devotes ample space in proving how close it imitates the Associated Press. Arnold Cortesi, the *Times* correspondent at Rome, is an open avowed Fascist, and writes his dispatches as a semi-official of Mussolini. Perhaps the even far more serious charge made and proven by Seldes lies in what the *Times* suppresses and minimizes. A denunciation of the menace of Fascism by John Strachey receives a few lines, but an interview bestowing praise upon Mussolini by Eddie Cantor is featured. The support of President Roosevelt on the child-labor amendment is buried on page 26, alongside the financial news. When the Federal Trade Commission ordered on September 18, 1934, the Bayer Aspirin Co., Inc., to cease unfair practices in the advertising of its tablets, the *Times* buried a garbled version—including already the Company's answer—on page 41! What the *Times* carefully *left out* from the story, is that the government prohibited the Bayer Company from stating that aspirin has 'no harmful after effects.'

The New York Stock Exchange openly recommends to its members through the voice of Richard Whitney:

I particularly recommend the Times. It carries a splendid department every week by Mr. Lockey. It is printed double column and in type twice as big as the rest of the paper. Really, you could not possibly do so well if you hired Mr. Lokey yourselves.

Mr. Hearst and the Press. James Creelman in his memoirs publishes the following telegram exchange between Frederick Remington, artist, and W R. Hearst:

W. R. Hearst, New York Journal, New York.

Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. I wish to return.

Remington.

Remington, Havana.

Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war.

W. R. Hearst.

The red scare baitings of the Hearst press is now common knowledge. One of his chief red-baiters is Richard Washburn Child who it has been proven had been paid $7,500 by the National Utility Associations. Likewise have been exposed Hearst's sending of reporters to pose as radical students in colleges and afterwards accuse professors as "red" teachers. The real evaluation of Mr. Hearst was given by Professor Charles A. Beard, when he said:

In the course of the past 50 years I have talked

(Continued on Page Three)

ONLY ONE REAL ENEMY—AUTHORITY

The turbulent and chaotic state of our political and social whirligig has reached such demented proportions that, not only did it shatter the hitherto existing class-distinction in our ranks but has fostered a staggering, if not vacillating, attitude in the minds of our revolutionists towards the very factions they were forever in rebellion.

To begin with, our social philosophy of anarchism has always been based upon the belief that all ruling classes, regardless of party or creed, are directly responsible for spreading violence and destruction in our social organism. In this cherished belief the authors of our philosophy were emphatic in their denunciation of all governmental authority, with no quarter given any singled-out ruleship, be it of liberal or reactionary tendencies.

The world has since the closing of the Big War taken on a change of costume. In some countries, kings were forced to abdicate and replaced by sovereigns of marxian creed; in others the crying need for economic readjustment wrought out a more liberal economic policy; and in still others, the awakening spirit for national supremacy rallied the citizenry to a new form of jingoistic dictatorship under the flying colors of Fascism and Nazism.

This is very short, very concise, very brief history indeed, but can be atoned in the fact that it isn't intended as epoch-making history of the World War aftermath but as a compassing guide by which I mean to point out the blundering course we have taken, in company with other socialistic factions, to sail our revolutionary theories in this turmoil of social and political changes.

Here is the argument in question: We are all up in arms against Fascism. Why? Well, because Fascism spells a rule of tyranny, oppression, persecution and all the other evils that go with it—all of it which is indeed very true. But do we know of any organized government that ruled otherwise? Is not the theory of anarchism based on the very principal that all governments are vicious and detrimental to the well-being of human society?

It makes me laugh to read the big headlines, particularly in the radical press, that Fascism means war. Of course it does. The aggressive policies of Mussolini's Italy is proof enough to reach such a conclusion. But have we not heard of wars before? Is this not the policy of the whole imperialistic world—against whom, by the way, we have always been revolting? Does not shintoistic Japan pursue the same aggressiveness in China? Does not capitalistic England and the rest of them exercise the same grab-what-you-can-grab policies in their colonial annexations? And did we already forget the brutal onslaughts of one imperialistic nation upon another in the World War of two decades ago, where so many millions of their respective populations were sacrificed for imperialistic possessions? How absurd to center our vitriolic propaganda upon a single form of tyranny when the history of mankind flourishes with tales of horrors inflicted upon it by the various forms of stately domination.

Let no one judge me wrongly (I hope they won't). I am rebel enough to view with contempt any form of organized terror to show sympathetic leanage toward Fascism; but here is my thought: It is my convincing belief that in treating Fascism—or Nazism, if you will—as the highest type of governmental tyranny we deviate, in large measure, from the general position towards the institution of stately domination. That is my own conviction, of course, but if you wish a quoted opinion I submit this one from Errico Malatesta: *It follows that you can not abolish privilege and establish solidly and finally equal liberty without abolishing at the same time the government—that is, not this or that government, but the government institution itself.*

As proof-positive that we gain no advantage by aiming at a particular form of tyranny may serve this illustration: During the combat the Allies were waging against the militarism of German Junkertum (World War) the whole liberal world was leaning to their cause, in hope that a victory for the Allies will finally and completely eradicate the militaristic ambitions of the Kaiser and his Junkers. In fact, even our own Kropotkin was caught in the delusion that by eliminating Junkertum the world shall have been saved from future wars. Result? German arms were defeated, to be sure; the Kaiser has been banished; but what we got in stead surpasses all German Kaisertum we ever dreamed of. Or if you like, take your choice of Mussolini's Fascism.

"But," some are apt to complain, "why should we not condemn more violently the plague of Fascism? Does she not terrorize over all the liberal and intelligent elements of her domain? Does she not, in mad thirst for dictatorial power, repress all liberal thought and liberal expression with an iron fist? Does she not keep in meek subjugation the whole labor movement at threat of incarceration and death?"

I am willing to admit all that. But great heavens, what government ever treated her undesirables with kid gloves? Did we forget the hangings and exiles of the finest people in Czarist Russia? Did we become blind to the clubbing of strikers by capitalist constabularies? Are not people with radical views being deported and discriminated upon in our so-called democratic form of government? Think of Sacco and Vanzetti! Think of Mooney and Billings! Think of our newest victims—Ferrero and Sallito (never mind the New Deal that throws a soup-bone to the unemployed). Think of all advocates of new thoughts and new ideas who have paid the penalty with their freedom—and with their life—at all times and under all systems of oppression. When you think of these frightful things you shall not hold up Fascism as the only symbol of organized terror but as a cog in the vicious circle that rules and destroys.

How we came to be swept away in the imbroglio to align ourselves with the imperialistic world in a common struggle against Fascism can hardly be embraced with a clear mind. We may condone the dictatorial-minded communists for shouting their loudest at the despotic rule of Fascism. The ultra-fanaticism with which they serve the creed of "tovaristchi" rule blinds them to see the cruel despotism that is so rampant in Lenin's—or is it Stalin's?—bureaucracy. Marxian despotism, in their dogmatic avowal, turns into a kind of "sacred cow" to which true devotees must worship with fanatic zeal. All the horrible punishments meted out to recalcitrants in the proletarian hierachy—punishments that even medeavel tyrants would hide their faces in shame—is accepted by them as a sort of holy sacrifice for the preservation of the kingdom of Bolshevism.

In like manner we may forgive the social-democrats for their heart-rending lamentations over the suffering people of Germany, when only a short time ago the same bereaved nation did not fare any better under the so-called Socialist republic. With them it's a question of party predominance. Like all party movements with political aims and ambitions it is most natural for them to grow embittered toward an opposing faction that so triumphantly succeeded in wresting the reins of power from them.

We can therefore understand why the socialist factions are dancing up to the tune of political fiddling. The socialists, and communists as well, who themselves strive for political dominance, can ill afford to look askance at the successes of Fascism or Nazism, and as a matter of self-preservation must aim their political guns at the opposing creed-dictatorships, whom they regard as their staunchest enemies. But it certainly is hard to conceive how such influences can find their mark in a class-movement that, philosophically at least, aims for the negation of all ruling authority, be it of whatever clan or heritage. The political and economic factors which were instrumental to usher in fascism are identically the same that in former history brought on monarchism and capitalism. To wage, therefore, our conflict with the evil of fascism simply because it's "modern" to do so defeats the very purpose of our basic opposition to any form of stately organization. Such clannish antiism detracts us from the real cause which our Bakunins, Malatestas, Berkmans and all the guiding spirits of our movement have preached in their rebillious declarations against stately authority. We can not principally condemn one particular authority, because, from the anarchist point of view all man-made laws and edicts enjoined by the various ruling classes tend to abridge and enslave human thought, human conscience, human freedom and human existence.

SAMUEL POLINOW.

Comrade Polinow has failed to substantiate his assertion that such criticism as he makes against the Socialists and Communists can also be applied to our Anarchist movement.—Editor.

Daily Press

(*Continued from Page Two*)

with presidents of the United States, senators, justices of the Supreme Court, members of the house of representatives, governors, mayors, bankers, editors, college presidents (including Charles W. Eliot), leading men of science, Nobel prize winners in science and letters, and I have never found one single person who for talents and character command the respect of the American people, who has not agreed with me that William Randolph Hearst has pandered to depraved tastes and has been an enemy of everything that is noblest and best in the American tradition.

There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a 10-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end. Unless those who represent American scholarship, science, and the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely, stand together against his insidious influences he will assassinate them individually by every method known to his yellow press.

Press Agents to Cover Every Crime. Ivy L. Lee became the highest paid press agent for the German Dye Trust, Charles M. Schwab, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., Thompson-St.-Garrett Company, Portland Cement, the Guggenheims, the Interborough, the Pennsylvania Railroad, Chrysler, Harvard and Princeton universities, the Red Cross, Poland, Roumania, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

Governments and the Press. The Machado Government of Cuba is known to have spent $4,000,000 on propaganda . . . Mussolini bribes newspapers outside of Italy by allowing them five thousand words free cable tolls . . . In 1933 Foreign Minister of France Joseph Paul-Boncoury asked and received an additional 33 million francs for French propaganda abroad, defending his claim by citing the following sums (in francs) spent by rivals: Germany, 256 million; Italy, 119 million; France, 71 million; Britain, 69 million; Poland, 26 million; Hungary, 23 million; Czechoslovakia, 18 million; Jugoslavia, 12 million and Roumania, 7 million.

The Paris Tribune and Government Graft. In September, 1926, George Seldes dispatched a telegram from Poland telling of an impending shakeup in the Pilsudski regime. The Polish Embassy which was an advertiser in the *Tribune* issued a denial, and the business office wrote to Seldes:

Of course you are aware that we have an advertising contract with the Polish Government amounting to 150,000 francs and desire to continue it . . .

In 1927 Seldes was told by an official of the Roumanian Government:

When we arranged a deal with the business representative of the Tribune it was with the understanding that the news would be suppressed in Chicago as well as in Paris. (The Paris Tribune is owned by the Chicago Tribune.)

"Worse still," relates Seldes, "there are police spies working in American newspaper offices in Europe and there are Communist and Fascist journalists who after their day's work as assistant to American employers, hasten to the political police to report against them."

The Plight of the Lindberghs

The thunderbolt that struck the world at the revelation of the Lindbergh's flight to Europe, in order to find safety, has aroused our government officials and press purveyors of public opinion to come forth with an unusual series of misrepresentations in order to cover up the real cause of the tragedy as it has also revealed the utter bankruptcy in which it has placed the entire present disorder of life.

No one who has been watching the rise of Charles A. Lindbergh to fame and riches, the kidnapping and death of the kidnapped child, and now his and his family's flight, can call it anything but a huge tragedy. The tragedy of man in an abnormal society.

This tragedy, as nothing compared to it in our times, has brought to the surface all the rotteness, all the corruptness, all the insincerity and devlishness in which the present system of capitalism has thrown mankind into.

Despite all the intentional distortions and lies to the contrary, the kidnapping of the Lindbergh child, as all other kidnappings, were not motivated by a craving to inflict cruelty upon fellow human beings. Neither were they acts of madness. They were though nothing else but a resultant affect of want and misery on one hand and over-plentitude on the other. Can any one picture to one's self the state of despair that drives men and women to endanger their liberty and life in the hope of obtaining those means which are today the measurement wherewith happiness and security can be obtained?

All the punishments and even killings that have been inflicted upon most of the apprehended perpetrators of kidnappings have not at all served to diminish or stop kidnappings any more than all the laws of the land have resulted in lessening the industry of crime, let alone to stop it. And it needs only be emphasized that what are classed principally as crimes by the present order are but attempts of the *have nots* to obtain something from those *who have* too much.

It follows therefore as a matter of simple logic and truthfulness—both common articles to which governmental officials and press falsifiers close their eyes that as long as we shall have with us a system of society wherein the limited few, with the aid of the machinery of the government, succeed in accumulating immense wealth, (which in reality is but accumulated by the exploitation and deliberate fleecing of this wealth from those who produce it) kidnappings and every sort of crime against property will repeatedly be enacted with the resultant tragedies, in many instances, as that now being experienced by the Lindberghs.

Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoi solved their problems of the wealth-curse in which they were born by renouncing it and forthwith joining in those great striving social movements for equality of opportunities in a society that would, by following such a course , not know any of the man-made tragedies that afflict us all today. Would it then be too much to expect and hope of the son of a radical who, in his times, was derided and slandered by the wealthy—to follow in the footsteps of a Bakunin, Kropotkin and Tolstoi? Perhaps it is. But in this maddening state of society we dwell under it is no doubt the only safe recourse left for Charles A. Lindbergh.

If any one is to be blamed for the series of tragedies that the Lindberghs have been undergoing it is none other than the reptile press that has never given them any peace of mind or the privacy that they wanted and needed. And even more stronger should their plight be placed at the door steps of the mother of all to crimes we witness,—the capitalist system of exploita-

BERT HILLSIDE.

A RETROSPECT ON THE YEAR THAT HAS PASSED

Europe

The year of 1935 has offered an as yet unparalleled spectacle in modern history. A League of Nations, embracing every important country of the world, (including also the "proletarian" one), for the avowed purpose of maintaining peace and tranquility amongst each other, finding itself all of a sudden faced with the challenge by one of its leading members (Italy) invading the country of another member (Ethiopia) of the same League. Memorably indeed will become the unanswered declaration of Italy's Fascist ruler, Benito Mussolini, that since the British Empire has been built up by nothing else but conquests, he, likewise, sees no reason as to why Italy should not follow in the same foot-steps.

The League of Nations that has come into being as a result of the last World War never did really function, except on paper. It was with the impending war of invasion upon Ethiopia by Italy that the League of Nations, for the first time in its non-too-honorable history assumed the rôle it was founded for—sort of a world-court. Forthwith it outlawed Italy and followed this act with the imposition of sanctions.

The liberal world, the socialist world, as well as the communist world did not lose any time in coming forth with their most enthusiastic support of the League's action. But fate dealt very unkindly with their not too thoughtful action. It soon revealed itself that the sanctions imposed upon Italy was but of a sort that would not make it impossible for that country to continue its invasion of Ethiopia. That it was oil sanction which Italy feared the most, and that none others but France and England were doing everything in their power to withhold the imposition of an oil imbargo. If that treacherous act were not well nigh sufficient, along came the now historical and infamous peace plan which France and Great Britain attempted to impose upon Ethiopia and whereby that country would have had to secede more than one-half of its domain to Italy. And even more startling were the reasons given by France's and England's governmental spokesmen that they did all this for the maintaining of peace in Europe. This, of course, was far from the truth. The real reason leaked out soon enough. Both governments feared that the defeat of Italy in Ethiopia might bring to an end the reign of Mussolini in Italy, and that this may precipitate similar upheavals not only wherever dictatorships reign, but in so-called democracies as well. Thus the liberal, socialist and communist world found themselves as backers of the real imperialist manipulators of the League of Nations whereby and through which the *Status Quo* of the present intolerable rulerships throughout the world shall be able to remain intact!

What a spectacle for the gods of capitalism to laugh at! Liberals, Socialists and Communists aiding them to prevent revolutions! ! !

Every member in good standing of the League of Nations is reaping a harvest in oil sells, and that of other "non-war materials," to Italy. The *Western Worker*, organ of the Pacific Coast Communists, came forward in a crying editorial to state that no reasonable person can expect the "proletarian state' to forego selling oil and other materials to Italy when other League members have not ceased to do so. What a fine standard of morals to be guided by!

The challenge to the League of Nation's right to call itself such was further enhanced by the report of James G. McDonald, High Commissioner of the League of Nations, who handed into the League a report and his own resignation. In that report he described the brutal, sadistic, cruel and fiendish manner in which the Nazi regime of Germany is openly attempting to exterminate the 500,000 Jews of that country. And it is needless to say that the League of Nations will do nothing about the plight and tragedy that the Jews of Germany are now undergoing.

As to the labor and social movements of Europe, excepting the ignominious role they have all played in the sanctions already spoken of above, there is nothing worth recording, except perhaps, the finale to the Kirov assassination of 1934, which in addition to the 123 massacred rebels by the Bolshevik government in that year, also brought in 1935, ten and five year's imprisonment and exile to Gregory Zinoviev, former president of the Third Communist International, and five years imprisonment and exile to Lev Kamenev, former Vice Premier of the Bolshevik Republic. To the "credit" of the same Bolshevik reign should be added its handing over to Fascist Italy the Italian Anarchist Alfonso Petrini, after having undermined his health by continued imprisonment—all for the crime of refusing to become a pawn in their hands. The Bolshevik government has also reported great "economic" progress through and with the aid of the "Stakhanov" speed-up system with all its accompanying evils of "advancements," "better pay" and "premiums"—not much to be envied by those of us here who know what all this implies.

South America

In Argentina the dictatorship reigns supreme. The news censorship has reached such a zenith that some foreign newspapers withdrew their correspondents.

In Cuba the sugar interests of this country, with the aid of the American government, are reigning undisturbed. The abdication of the puppet-ruler Mendieta, and the recently staged elections were well supervised by the American embassy, so as to protect the sugar interests. It should therefore not surprise any one to soon hear of new uprisings by the oppressed and exploited masses of Cuba.

Uprisings have taken place in Ecuador, Uraguay and Brazil. In the last named, 138 army men were slain and 1,300 jailed. Alhough labelled as a "communist" staged uprising, as all revolts are now termed, it was principally a rebellion of the army in conjunction with the National Liberators Alliance that was merely aiming at a sort of nationalist revolution as against foreign dominated capital.

In Mexico the battle between the church and the State over the school issue is still raging. Former president Calles and former labor minister Marones are now openly denounced as traitors to the republic. How far the workers and peasants will benefit from the new regime remains yet to be seen.

United States

Just at this moment the press of the country is being filled again with all sorts of political predictions and maneuvres. For a diversion the people can laugh themselves hoarse at witnessing Herbert Hoover defending liberty. For good old misleading orations they can always listen to Franklin D. Roosevelt who never tires in promising to drive the money changers out of the temples, but leaves, legally, every loop-hole whereby they should re-enter and continue their dirty work. As I said once during last year, the nulifying of the reform measures of the Roosevelt administration by the Nine Pall Bearers of capitalism, called otherwise the United States Supreme Court, may yet prove the very stepping stone upon which Roosevelt will be re-elected.

In the meantime, it might not be amiss to scrutinize the claims of President Roosevelt. Said he at Atlanta, Georgia, on November 29, 1935:

I sense a swelling prosperity of the spirit that spells a greater help and deeper happiness for our fellow men.

The following facts will aid in throwing some light as to who were the ones that benefited from this "swelling prosperity."

Bond investment financeers placed on the market bonds amounting to $3,500,740,750 in 1935 as compared with $1,469,898,032 in 1934 . . . Deposits in the banks of the country increased by $2,367,933,000 over 1934 . . . The government disbursed about $3,000,000,000 in bonds to financial institutions and corporations . . . Payments made to stockholders in 1935 aggregated $2,942,666,672,386 for 2,666 corporations against $2,684,711,575 for 2,437 companies in 1934 . . . The stock market according to the New York *Times-Index* rose thirty-three and one-third per cent in 1935, the highest since 1931 . . . T. J. Pelley of the Associated Railways reported freight traffic and passenger traffic raised the revenue 8.1 per cent above the 1934 total . . . The life insurance companies, according to Frederick H. Ecker, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, gained $2,500,000,000 in 1935, the largest since 1931 . . . The Bank of America reported earnings of $16,276,000 as against $10,530,000 in 1934. An increase of 54.5 per cent.

The aviation industry, chain stores, chemical industry, food products, liquor, metal, mining, miscellaneous, motion pictures, motors, oils, railroads, rubber, steel and utilities all reported gains in profits for 1935 over 1934, according to C. M. Reckert, writing in the New York *Times* of January 2, 1936. In the same issue, correspondents of that newspaper reported from the business and industrial centers of the entire country that the past year has been a most prosperous one. Salaries of presidents and managers of banks ran again as high as over the $200,000 figure for each.

Wall Street, for the first time in five years, had two orchestras bid farewell the passing prosperous year.

On the eve of the new year, Secretary of Commerce Roper predicted:

On the basis of the broad gains recorded . . . business and industry should now move forward courageously . . .

The facts already brought forward corroborate President Roosevelt's claim of a "swelling prosperity," as far as it benefited one class of the people, the rich. Now let us take a glance at the manner of how the great masses fared during the same year.

According to President Roosevelt's own statement, the greatest part of the population were able only in obtaining one-third of what they should have in order to have fulfilled their natural needs of food, shelter, and clothing.

According to government figures, there are at present twenty million people on government relief, more than at any time since the crisis began.

The National Research League places the unemployment total at 14,210,000 as compared with 13,300,000 in October, 1933.

It is estimated that anywheres between five to eight million youths have no prospect of any sort to start out in life, due to lack of opprtunities in obtaining employment.

In the direct struggle, such as strikes and unemployment demonstrations, the workers lost no less than 34 known as killed by either the police, sheriffs or soldiers. No figures as to the number of maimed are available. Nor of the number of arrested and sentenced or fined.

The Governor of Georgia established jail concentration camps for strikers, a new method used for aiding the exploiters of labor to defeat the workers.

Lynchings, principally of negroes, continued unabatedly with a record of 20 as against 15 in 1934.

Flag allegiance oaths for teachers have been placed on the statute books of more than a dozen states. To the credit of some of the teachers, about 40 in Massachusets alone refused to obey the ignominious procedure that puts a premium on Samuel Johnson's famous saying that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

Although the present administration is being accused by super-patriots of being too lenient to alien radicals, it is nevertheless a fact that the same administration has been carrying on the most intensive campaign against every known radical movement throughout the country. At the present moment there are scores of radical aliens awaiting deportation, and many have already been deported.

Despite Secretary Icke's lip-service to freedom and denunciation of Fascism, as also that of President Roosevelt's, made previously, the present administration has not abandoned its directed attack aimed at our publication by preparing to deport Vincent Ferrero ad Dominick Sallitto to Fascist Italy.

Thus has been the lot of the masses during the past year. Quite a different one from the one that really enjoyed a "swelling prosperity."

* * *

On the front of social and militant movements, chaos reigns supreme.

Organized labor, through its president, before an assembly of the entire American Federation of Labor, joined in fraternal unity with the leading Fascist scab organization—the American Legion, for the purpose of aiding in the deportation of any sincere alien radical who refuses to barter and compromise himself to the exploiters and rulers of the land, as the AFOL does.

The leading official of the Communist party, Earl Browder, returned from Moscow with an order-mandate which was recently adopted by the Third Communist International, and which order directed the communists to initiate a campaign for a united front with all the liberals, labor and socialist forces against fascism. Thus, overnight, the communist press and spokesmen began singing hymns of love to those whom they have so laborously traduced only until yesterday. This new united front maneuvre has already brought very close to an open split within the Socialist Party.

The followers of Leon Trotzky founded a Workers Party which has until now not succeeded even to begin attaining its aim. The Lovestonites, still claiming to be the legal majority Communist Party are still functioning. So is also the Wiesbord group. Muste followers are likewise still working and hoping to bring about the formation of a farm-labor party that should duplicate here the performances of the Labor Party of Great Britain.

As to the Anarchist movement, there is likewise very little progress to report. *Mother Earth*, the mimiographed Anarchist-farm monthly has ceased to appear. Our Chinese comrades of San Francisco have made valient efforts to keep their monthly publication, *Anarchy*, going, but without success. Our weekly contemporaries in the Italian, Jewish and Spanish languages, the two bi-monthly publications in the Russian language and our own publication, can only claim one thing: we have not soiled ourselves in any of the political maneuvres as all other political and social organs. We have not fallen for the trap of sanctions by the League of Nations against Italy, as all other parties did. We have fought the ideas of dictatorship and authority as best as we could and knew how. The *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* had only one collaborator (Christian Cornellison) who came forward with the idea of supporting Russia in case of war, and the editor of our Jewish contemporary gave him a most able answer, reminding him that an anarchist can not side with any government at any time and still remain an anarchist.

MAN! has had a most hardious task in appearing at all. The lack of sufficient material aid that forced us to omit two issues was but a mere incident compared with the intimidation of the government and other reactionary forces that made itself felt to an extent of making it almost next to impossible in getting out our journal. Excepting a few notable instances most of the labor and social publications of other movements failed to rally to the defense of

(*Continued on Page Five*)

MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement
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MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

Man!

P. O. Box 115, San Francisco, California, U. S. A.

SHALL POETS COLLABORATE IN A FASCIST PRESS?

Dear Mr. Graham:

I was sorry to see the note below Mr. Hurd's letter. I am not only familiar with the work of Mr. Hurd and Mr. Kresensky, but feel that they are two very fine writers; in fact, I have yet to see anything on your art and literature page any better or as technically perfect, a strange combination we unfortunately do not find in all verse—even on the much despised Mr. Hearst's page.

I do not believe the anarchist movement has ever produced very much literature, granted that a great deal of it contains a certain amount of fire and granting also that propaganda can also be great literature. I feel that you should take what you can get, providing it interests you, with no questions asked.

If I were in the least particular where I saw my own work published, I am afraid it would exclude a great many religious publications, in addition to MAN! May I explain myself. The average religious publication has a very narrow concept and MAN! has even a narrower one. But I believe that poetry is above creed and personal prejudices; therefore, in the event that anything I have had published in your publication or any other makes any appeal whatsoever to a reader, then I have fulfilled the object of the arts generally.

Assuredly, Mr. Hearst's publications are infinitely more cultural, refined and presentable than most of the anarchist publications I have seen——which does not say that I am supporting Mr. Hearst in any manner whatsoever. True, Mr. Hearst does pay his contributors but not to any great extent. There is good in all things and it would be foolish to try to dispute it. I find a great many things in MAN! that appeal to me. I find a great many elsewhere but I am afraid I am too much of a universal thinker to tie myself up in a knot over small personalities.

This letter is not written in any sense of enmity toward you, MAN! or the anarchist party. It is assuredly no defense for Mr. Hearst or his publications. It is not a case of sour grapes for you have published my work most consistently—but I do think your paper is fortunate in contacting such writers as Mr. Hurd and Mr. Kresensky.

I would make one criticism of the anarchist movement from all that I have read, seen and heard and I would make it in an unbiased manner. No movement of any kind can ever succeed when based upon an etirely destructive program and I believe that it is no more than childish to attempt to control a writer, body and soul. A writer, like a musician, belongs to the world and not to the petty squabbling of any one destructive group. The great fault we find in the various creeds and religions is that they spend more time pulling down than they ever do to contributing or building up.

Naturally, this letter will place me on the black list of MAN!, for which I shall be sorry as I do not like to make enemies but if you can read between the lines and sense my repugnance for anything that is unfair, I think you will find me not only just but interested enough to write such a lengthy letter.

Adio,

JAMES NEILL NORTHE.

Northe's letter should arouse the keenest disappointment with every poet and lover of poetry. It is the saddest commentary that the worst enemy of poetry could not have surpassed.

What poets as Northe fail to realize is, that those poets in the world's literature who have left their mark upon the progress of mankind have been in the forefront of every struggle of the masses for more Justice and Beauty in life. Those poets though, who attempt to gain some renown first through the radical press, and at the first opportune moment succumb to the *Career* offered to them by the Mind Poisoners of the people, can never become outstanding in any of the fields of Art and Literature.

The attempt of Northe to hide behind the shield of being above the creed and personal narrow-mindedness of the religious and radical press can not prove much of a credit to him before those who know better.

As for the Anarchist press, if Northe would really have been a careful reader of it, he should have known that in this world-beridden, censored press by governments, parties and creeds, the Anarchist one can rightfully claim to be the freest of all.

Northe's glorification and hailing the Hearst press as more "cultural, refined and presentable than the Anarchist press" is partly true, and partly a most shameful distortion of the truth. The cash of William Randolph Hearst may be able to buy the writings of some popular writers. But has Northe asked himself the question as to whether any of the "famous" names that adorn the Hearst press really have the freedom to write about Justice, Liberty, Truth and the great struggle of insurgent mankind for a better world? Need one remind Northe that no writer has ever been turned down by an Anarchist journal for attempting to expound the very same ideas that are not only taboo in the Hearst press, but are most bitterly fought by it?

One wonders as to whether Northe considers the sex-orgy stories that fill the Hearst press, the venom-spitting daily appeals to mob rule against every man or woman that dares to stand up for Truth and Justice—as achievements that entitle the Hearst press to be classed by him as "more cultural, refined and presentable?" . . .

Let me remind Northe as to what one of the outstanding historians and educators of this country had to say before the last convention of the educators of America—about the same Hearst press. I refer to Professor Charles A. Beard's indictment of Hearst, quoted previously in this issue on page three. Any poet who, after reading this ringing indictment, can not realize the wrong one commits against the heart and soul of truth, justice and beauty, and can still continue to collaborate in such a press of filth and dishonesty, such enemy of everything that denotes the good and the just, is either to be pittied for lack of sufficient mental understanding, or simply insincere.

Hearst and his press represent today the very spirit that breathed life into the purgatory of hell and torture that Fascism and Nazism has brought upon the people of Italy and Germany. And the issue of boycotting to death the Hearst press is and remains a Life and Death issue with every sincere liberty loving person, independent as to what creed or political belief one has for the New Society of Tomorrow.

A true poet ought to know where he belongs in this struggle against the menace of a threatening Fascism in America.

I know very well that Northe is not motivated by any enmity in having written the above letter. Neither am I in the answer I give, despite its belligerant-sounding tone. In the issue of Freedom or an imminent Slavery—I refuse to mince words, or handle anyone with silk gloves.

When Northe attributes to our movement an attempt to control the artist, he is making himself ridiculous. The printed pages of the Anarchist press throughout the world prove the very contrary. The Anarchist press has been at all times first and foremost to hail and let the real artists express themselves in its pages. Long before a conservative world was even willing to know that such a man as Hendrick Ibsen existed, the Anarchist press greeted every one of his plays, reprinted and circulated them. The same holds true to any writer of merit. The national boundaries never can mean anything to the Anarchist, therefore its press is full of translations of anything worthy from all the languages.

Northe speaks of our destructive programs as harmful. Well, if the entire basis upon which the present order maintains itself deserves nothing else but tearing down—whose fault is it? Upon a rotten foundation no builder will venture to erect anything. The ground must first be cleared of the debris. The air must be purified. The sun must be allowed to shine upon everything, and freedom must replace coercion and suppression. Not until this will come about will the "destructive programs" of the Anarchist cease.

Those who have a real knowledge of current social movements know that in the pages of MAN! appear writers who are aligned with other social movements. This fact never has, nor ever will bar from our pages anyone. No thought, idea or dream of the future is too free for the Anarchist to fear in bringing it forth.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

A Retrospect

(Continued from Page Four)

MAN! in its battle not to be destroyed by the government. To their own ultimate regret, they have failed to realize that if the government should succeed to stop our voice *today*—their doom is just as certain to face them *tomorrow*.

* * *

As is to be seen from the outline of events during the last year, it has been a most disheartening one for all those forces who struggle for the dawn of a new form of society.

Especially disheartening it appears to those forces who are ever combatting authority of every form, and witnessing how the governments everywhere are usurping unto themselves more and more power, with the exploiting classes readily supporting such usurpation, since it assures their continued safety and supremacy, only in a different form.

Armaments and war preparations by every existing government (including the proletarian one) have exceeded all previous records.

The continued reign of exploitation, rulership and slaughter are the only prospects in store for downtrodden mankind.

But, will mankind continue to allow itself in being ruled, exploited, destroyed and mislead for long?

Will not this very increasing usurpation of power by the rulers and exploiters of mankind, with its accompanying wars, also spell the breaking point that will turn a submissive mankind into an avalanche of rebellion that will cast every authority reign into oblivion?

Those of us who hold dear the principles of freedom and justice can foresee the Day of Reckoning, and are unceasingly working for its oncoming. Despite all the obstacles we meet, despite all the oppression and repression, despite all the defeats and attacks—we still are shouting forth our defiance to every form of injustice and wrong, proclaiming Justice and Freedom above everything else!

A Liberated Mankind shall follow the one of Enslavement under which we now suffer and endure. Of this we are certain, and for this ultimate achievement we shall continue to work.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

From the War Front

A survey of miscellaneous reports reaching London from the Mediterranean area discloses that on the island of Rhodes many Italian troops are being disembarked during the night, and their morale is very poor. The island of Leros, which the Italians have been counting on as a strategic base in an emergency, has had its harbors closed by mines and wire netting, and only Italian ships are allowed inside. No boat is permitted within two miles of the island after 7:00 p. m. On the island of Calymnos the population has been forbidden, on pain of heavy penalties, to mention Great Britain. Throughout the Dodecanese islands an appeal was made by the fascist government for volunteers for the African war. Only fourteen presented themselves in response. All hospitals throughout the islands are full of invalids, some with tropical diseases.

* * *

An amazing, crazy-quilt pattern of financial investment in the African war zone exists, but has received scant publicity—possibly because the facts are about as embarrassing to each one of the involved nations as to all the others.

* * *

Working the platinum deposits of Ethiopia is a company whose make-up should be the occasion for laughter among the gods of war. The firm itself is French; its founder is an Italian; the board of directors is composed of French and Italian officials; and Haile Selassie is one of the largest stockholders!

The Emperor of Ethiopia is said to have a considerable fortune which is invested partly in London, partly in Paris, and partly—in Italy! The Negus is, in fact, the principal stockholder in a large Italian cheese factory.

The Suez Canal is owned up to 40 per cent by the British Government. Italy's war has increased the traffic to the point where earnings amount weekly to tens of millions of francs.

The Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway is now owned jointly (1) by a French financial and munitions group; (2) by a group of Italian capitalists; (3) and by the Ethiopian ruler. The French despatched 200 colonial troops to protect their national interests; the railroad company is obligated in time of war to move the troops and the military supplies of the Emperor. It looks superficially like a dangerous powder barrel, but no trouble is expected. Everything can be arranged among friends.

Declaring that they would in no circumstances transport war materials or troops in the event of their being called upon to participate in warfare, the important Federated Seamen's Union of New Zealand carried an outspoken resolution unanimously at recent meetings in Wellington, Lyttleton and Dunedin. The resolution, made public through the Nofrontier News Service, asserts:

> *Once again we are being asked in almost identical phrases, except that the word Fascism is substituted for German militarism, and Abyssinia for poor bleeding Belgium, and the League of Nations for sacredness of treaties and "scraps of paper", to give our lives and murder our fellow workers in order that one set of exploiting imperialist powers may prevail over another set.*
>
> *We of course sympathize with the exploited people of Abyssinia and strongly resent both the military attack by the Fascist government of Italy and the contemplated selling or dividing up of their country among British, American or other capitalist interests. We sympathize with them just as we do with the Indian frontier tribes, who are being bombed by our British Royal Air Force, but we definitely assert that the way to free the Abyssinians or the Mohmands or the Indian masses is not to participate with the British or New Zealand Governments in a peaceful cutting up of their territory or in its administration under the League of Nations or to take part in a national war against the Italian workers, 'our gallant allies' only a few years ago. Our duty is not to fight our foreign fellow-workers, but to call on all workers in all countries to resist their own exploiting and war-making Governments with the object of obtaining political power for the working class, of instituting social ownership of the means of production and thus in the only possible manner putting an end to wars by removing their causes.*
>
> *We therefore oppose any war-making activities of the present Government, declaring that the present situation does not differ fundamentally from that of 1914, and we refuse to be again deceived. We will in no circumstance transport war materials or troops or in any way assist any war Government."*

(NO FRONTIER NEWS SERVICE.)

BOOK REVIEWS

COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES
By Earl R. Browder. International Publishers, New York, N. Y. $2.00.

The honesty and courage of Earl Browder which was shown by his being a C. O. in Leavenworth during the war can not be entirely covered up by the dogmatism which he has since acquired in the Communist Party, as is evidenced by his very frank criticisms of the tactics of the Communists. While he argues against the pragmatism of James and Sydney Hook, this very book is a pragmatic one, for it is merely a collection of addresses and reports to conventions, during the past five years.

The dogmatism of the Communists which drove Scott Nearing out of their party because he did not dare to write a book unless it was censored by some mediocre party clique has prevented party Communists from writing any books of real value. No writer or thinker would harness himself to a group of whose every opinion depends upon a variety of edicts from Moscow. Browder's characterization of Trotsky and his followers is one that he would dubtless not defend in private conversation: "too many of our members still do not understand that Trotskyism and the Trotskyists are not a 'branch' of the Communist movement but rather a police agency of the capitalistic class." Later in the book he states: "Leninism is not sectarian. It is not dogmatism. It is the necessary precondition for the smashing of sectarianism, of all opportunist tendencies in the working class." And if this plain contradiction is not enough, one chapter is headed: "Unemployment Insurance—the Burning Issue of the Day!"

Radicals of all kinds often criticize the Jesuits for their "any means to gain an end" idea. The lack of character in the average Communist is too well known to seek for further proof. However, I will point out an instance in which I am personally aware of the facts. Browder states: "The Socialist Party in Milwaukee . . . sent the unemployed leader, Fred Basset, to prison for one year for leading the demonstration of March 6, 1930." Mr. Basset is a Communist leader and a friend of mine. Milwaukee has a Socialist mayor, but at no time since 1912 have the Socialists had control of the city. The present city attorney is a Socialist and refused to prosecute Mr. Basset and others in a recent free speech case; the jail terms being handed out by a capitalistic judge and prosecutor. If Mr. Browder wished to tell all of the truth about this case he should have mentioned that the Communists who were given thirty days in jail petitioned the Common Council to refund their fines and let them go free because they were many of them on relief and unable to pay the fines. Mr. Basset did not make this request.) And these people call themselves revolutionists! I asked a local Communist leader, Mr. Childs, why a false report had been sent by him to the *Daily Worker* concerning the vote of the Socialists on a question of military training. He stated "they lie about us, can't we lie about them?" In the light of these facts one would hesitate to believe other supposed "facts" which are given by the Communists either to bolster up their cause or to weaken their opponents. I hold no brief for the Socialist Party in Milwaukee, having criticized them for their extreme right wing position many times.

Browder's criticism of the tactics of the Communists shows that he, at least, is trying to rid the party of its faults. How can they expect to gain good party material when they appeal, not to reason, but to hatred and villification to gain recruits? Browder admits that two out of three new members leave the party, and criticizes party speakers for being "parrots and phonographs" who do nothing but repeat party edicts. In a party where the individual is not allowed to speak for himself, this is the logical result. He points out that fear of left deviation led the Communists in the recent strike in San Francisco to give control to the right deviation. He states that the Communist training schools: "turn out finished bureaucrats."

The criticism is given by Browder that most of the negroes who enter the Communist party do not find the welcome there which they expected, and leave. He also tells of white chauvinism in Communist schools. The opportunism or right deviation of the Communists in allowing followers of the negro "Father Devine" to march in the so-called anti-war parade in New York recently with banners reading "Father Divine is God" and "Father Divine Will Stop War,"is defended by Browder. My observation of Communistic tactics has led me to believe that their appeal to the negro is not based so much on internationalism as upon their well-known tactic of "trafficking in human misery" to build up the Communist Party. Their blunt advocacy of race equality in the south has made it more difficult for both negro and white to work out the race problem. If the white male Communist favors association with the negro so much why does he not associate with negro girls? At Communist meetings you will find plenty of white girls who accompany colored boys but very few white boys who accompany colored girls.

The most interesting chapter in the book is the last one, which deals with religion, being questions and answers asked and given at Union Theological Seminary. The astounding statement is made that: "In the Soviet Union there is complete religious freedom." The Esquimo is also free to go naked. Admitting the traditional attitude of radicals against religion, the Communists are hypocritical when they do not freely admit this attitude in practice, instead of pretending to be for *any* kind of freedom. Imagine a Tolstoian who refused to be a part of the Red Army. Scott Nearing told me a few years ago that even the vegetarians were not allowed to have a restaurant of their own, as many vegetarians might be suspected of refusing to kill human beings as well as animals and therefore be counter-revolutionary from the viewpoint of the OGPU and the Red Army.

The crowning gem of the book is the assertion that: "Communists will never carry on any kind of activity which the masses will feel is against their interests . . . Certainly no one can say where the Communists are directing power, as in the Soviet Union, the mind has been put in a strait-jacket." This in face of the deportation of thousands of peasants whose promise of bread and resulting grain requisitions did not lead them to translate "the will of the people" in the manner of Stalin. The hundreds of Socialists and Anarchists and religious objectors who are tortured in "strait-jackets" of one kind or another according to the policy of the OGPU know little of this "freedom" spoken of by Browder.

Browder knows that a presentation of Communism which frankly upholds the tyranny of present day Russia will not gain adherents in the U. S. He therefore, seeks to reform his party members who have heretofore accepted rowdyism as their technique, and to now bore from within the A. F. of L. and seek a United Front with any radical or liberal who will be foolish enough to treat with Communistic trickery.

This book is well worth reading in order to know at first hand of the hypocrisy of the Communists and to see the effort of Browder, who like Ruthenberg, seems to be a man of fair courage and character, but who is overawed by the dictatorship of Stalin and finds it difficult to discover and overcome the deceit and erratic temperament of the average Communist. Browder comes of old pioneer American stock and if unhampered by Moscow he ought to be able to translate the Communist philosophy in terms to be understood by the average American. This is the common task of all radicals—to speak so as to be understood; to use illustrations from our own history instead of from dogmatic radical or religious Bibles.

AMMON A. HENNACY.

Correspondence & Discussion

"If There Is Anything That Can Not Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"—WENDELL PHILLIPS

Economic Action for Mooney and Billings

Box 365, Seattle, Washington,
December 24, 1935.

The Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120 of the Industrial Workers of the World, assembled in conference in Seattle, December 23, 1935, adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, Good and true union men, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, have been in prison for nearly twenty years, and

Whereas, It has been proven beyond all doubt, that Mooney and Billings are persecuted victims of a capitalistic frame-up and are innocent of the crime of which they are charged, and

Whereas, All attempts to free our persecuted fellow workers have been frustrated by so-called Courts of Justice and conservative Labor Leaders who have betrayed Mooney and Billings for their own selfish interests, and

Whereas, These prisoners, and all other class-war prisoners are victimized for being loyal to the working class as good union men fighting for better conditions through organized action; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union of the I. W. W. go on record to demand the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to all wage workers, regardless of organization affiliation, to join us in Economic Direct Action to gain our demands, and be it further

Resolved, That we request that full publicity be given this resolution and appeal for Labor Solidarity by all publications favoring this cause.

Hordon Lowes, Chairman.
O. N. Peterson, Recording Secretary.
H. M. Edwards, Chairman, General Organization Committee.

* * *

A Letter Which the "Nation" Suppressed

To the Editors of *The Nation*:

One could hardly help taking exceptions to the evident bias that is evinced in Louis Fischer's review of William Henry Chamberlin's "The Russian Revolution 1917-1921" that appeared in your issue of October 2nd. For instance, Mr. Fischer writes: "We learn a great deal about the personalities of Makhno and Grigoriev but nothing about Stalin." If Mr. Fischer would have been willing to take the trouble in looking back to the years of 1917-1921, he might have been unable to make the assertion that he does, for Stalin certainly played less of a role in those years than either Makhno or Grigoriev.

It should be of interest for the readers of *The Nation* to learn something about Makhno. The well known communist, Robert Minor, admitted in the October, 1920 issue of the now defunct *Liberator* that Makhno had a following of no less than 75,000 peasants.

Augustin Sauchy, in his lengthy history of "The Workers and Peasants of Russia" gives a most interesting account of the same Makhno. In that history the reader will find documentary proof as to how Makhno and his associates were the leading force in defeating every counter-revolutionary attempt made in the years of 1918-1920. It was none other than Bella Kun who signed an agreement for the Bolshevik Government with the Makhnovtzes—whereby they would cooperate on the battlefield as one, and respect each other's following in the rebuilding of the economic life. But no sooner had the last of the counter-revolutionists—Wrangel been crushed then the agreement was turned into a scrap of paper by the Bolsheviks. A conference of Anarchists was attacked in Kharkov by the Bolshevik Government at the order of Trotzky, arresting all the delegates. Makhno was decreed the death sentence and escaped to Roumania and thence to Poland. Remarkable enough, the "revolutionary" government of Russia was not a bit ashamed to ask for the extradition of Nestor Makhno from both capitalist governments! Wounded in one leg, Makhno finally landed in France where he hacked out a living as a cobbler. But his leg never gave him any peace. It was amputated, but of no avail, and on July 27, 1934, he died in Paris. Pierre Berland, the Paris *Temps* correspondent at Moscow wrote a biographical sketch of Makhno in the *Temps* of August 2, 1934. (I published this in the July-August issue of *MAN!*, this year) He writes of Makhno: "There is no doubt whatever that the defeat of Denikin is due to the insurrection of the peasants who waved the flag that was Makhno's, rather than to the success of Trotzky's regular army . . . if Moscow today wants to forget it, impartial history will take note of it." Considering these historical truths is it any wonder that Chamberlin should devote a chapter on the history of the Makhno movement and say about him: "He had fought on two fronts . . . He saw in the landlord and 'gold epaulettes' the standard bearers of an old servitude: in the Communist commissars and food collectors the heralds of a new slavery for the peasants"?

The communist press has repeatedly gone to all lengths in order to besmearch the name of Makhno, even to the point of labeling him a pogrom-maker upon Jews. This, despite the well known fact of Makhno having lured the same Grigoriev (that Fischer mentions) to his quarters, and killed him for his pogroms upon Jews!

I have gone to such lengths in order to prove the utter bias of Louis Fischer's review, because he has taken such great pains to belittle, distort and misrepresent the work of Chamberlin as a history of the "counter-revolution", when as amatter of fact, it appears quite clear, that he himself is about the strongest apologist for the most formidable counter-revolutionary government now in existence—the Bolshevik one of Russia.

San Francisco, Calif., October 21, 1935.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

* * *

Another View on Nationalism

Anant Polinow's article, there is something to say on the other side of Nationalism. Of course both Socialism and Anarchism are international in scope and spirit but Comrade Polinow's conception of Nationalism as one of exclusive and predatory clanishness is one-sided. It need not be so considered. For example, whatever the outcome of events will be, let us say, in America, it is quite certain that it will be the result of what people living here will do. The same goes for any locality on the earth.

Now not only is this course inevitable, but, in my view, anarchists wish to carry it out to the extreme of local self-government even to the extent of Sovereignity of the Individual. For when every man is king there will be no more kings. Likewise when every man is a capitalist there will be no more proletaires. So anarchism, instead of being against this sort of Nationalism, is for the extenuation of it—for the multiplication of the equitable distribution of "Nations" to infinitude. But in any event, Comrade Polinow does not rid himself of the error of thinking that a "Nation" can not be an association of individuals voluntarily organized for peaceful pursuits.

Nationalism does not necessarily mean the "hurrah for us and to hell with everyone else" spirit. It may mean self-determination. Did it ever occur to Samuel that men could disagree amiably? It is inevitable that people feel more deeply toward those with whom they have been brought up and toward the land of their birth. This "love of society" stuff is mostly bunk; it is to worship an abstract fiction, one of those "fixed ideas" which Stirner, that enemy of hypocricy, tells us.

When the present system of land ownership is to an occupancy and use tenure; with the absence of immigration barriers, tariff restrictions to free trade, and monopoly in productive processes; and also the money monopoly abolished—competition will solve the problem of the equitable distribution of wealth. It's quite unlikely that such squabbles as he conceives would arrise.

(*Continued on Page Seven*)

::: ART AND LITERATURE :::

Man and Soldier

The republic of Michongas and the empire of Canotes are at war. Hippolyte, soldier of the republic, being sentinel, walks along the river bank. Suddenly, he hears desperate calls coming from the water; Hippolyte is uneasy; he is a brave fellow, father of eight children of whom he continually thinks when he takes part in the fight. Furthermore, Hippolyte is a sensible and disinterested man. He once risked his life to save an old woman from the flames; very often, in spite of the sacrifices he was compelled to go through in doing it, he took some unfortunate people to his home to help them. In hearing these desperate shouts, the psyche of his manhood full of abnegation and sensibility is stirred up. His eyes search the water—he perceives a man struggling. Hippolyte does not hesitate, he throws his gun on the ground, takes off his shoes and dives into the river.

He energentically fights against the current. He is a good swimmer and he succeeds in seizing the drowning man by the hair and drags him to the shore.

When out of the water, Hippolyte puts on his shoes and picks up his gun. The man whose life he has just saved, completely naked, surprisingly looked at him.

"Why do you not put your clothes on?" asks Hippolyte.

"Because they are on the other side of the river."

"How is that?"

"Well, I took a swim and the current carried me to this side. I am a Canotian soldier.

"An enemy!" roars Hippolyte, and he plunges his bayonet into his heart. ALVARO UNQUE.

(Translated from "L'en dehors," by J. S.)

* * *

Recessional

Often a book which sets out to criticize society, becomes, by inference, a condemnation of society. The organism, seeking a cure, finally realizes its helplessness; and resigns itself, protestingly, to the imbecilities with which fortune may afflict it. The learned doctors, through the ages, have prescribed nostrums and specifics. But not one prescription has altered basically that condition of existence summed up so admirably by Baudelaire when he said, "Life is a hosiptal in which each is constantly trying to change his bed."

Thus, with a certain feeling of impatience, I read Dr. Abraham Myerson's dissertation, "When Life Loses Its Zest." I grant Dr. Myerson the same right as the other practitioners to diagnose the morbid personality. Even Mr. Bertrand Russell has had his fling at the task. But there are unsolved problems far back in the dim sub-consciousness of man that baffle the professional Samaritan whether he come armed with stethoscope or keys to dream-patterns. Those factors of our industrial civilization which Dr. Myerson cites as responsible for the state of lassitude known as anhedonia, only prove the incurability of the malady.

I refer to this condition of conditions of chronic excitement known as progress for proof of my argument. Dr. Myerson ably enumerates the discordant features of our "progressive" life which make for nervous derangement: the noise and dust of cities, the passion for the ephemeral fads of the moment, the grinding exploitation of the laborer who becomes identified with the machine to such an extent that he loses all feeling for individual craftmanship. Society merely pauses in the midst of another highball, and reminds the doctor that he is paid to treat effects, not causes.

In the name of progress, we have replaced natural simplicity for artificial over-simplification; we continue to develop elaborate machinery which, like Frankenstein, will eventually destroy its maker; we exchange the infrequent, and therefore more to be desired, solace of a Brahms symphony for the continual caterwauling and crooning of a radio. We manufacture bigger and better motor cars to create bigger and better dusts on bigger and better streets. We succumb to every passing fraud whether it be the New Deal or Dynamic Psychology. We remain impenetrably callous to the lot of the worker; and, at the last, allow his aging bones to molder in some squalid "charity home." Finally, in spite of all our officious bustle, and inclusive platitudes, we are sickly and harassed creatures.

It is not merely those sensitive few, but the entire race, who have become afflicted with anhedonia. Dr. Myerson, himself, is but one of a cabala of wearying thinkers; and his delusion is the common one of imperfect men made perfect. The mad rush to be one of the crowd, the unfeeling desire to place our brothers in positions where they will be most profitable to us, outweigh those humanitarian values which we hypocritically profess but never practice. We have idealt in dross, and our return is dross. Such is the compulsion of the crowd, however, that we march to its pace, even though our minds are emptied and our hearts atrophied in consequence.

Dr. Myerson's observation on "Sex and Anhedonia" are equally pointless. The emotion of love has suffered the same vulgarization as every other trait which might have had any redemptive influence upon society. The present promiscuity is but another via non via by which we defer to the unexpected. An emotion, which has been analyzed and psycho-analyzed by savants and charlatans to the point of destruction, can have no further place in our mental constitutions. If a man and woman develop an affection for each other, we are more interested in the results of the dissections: the complexes and neuroses which are responsible for their mutual affinity, than in the success of the union. Not Cervantes, but Dr. Freud, is responsible for the death of romance.

It seems to me, therefore, rather useless for Dr. Myerson to talk about the prevention of anhedonia. The most skillful physician could not cure the most obstinate patient. Let the crowd still worship its deities of brass, and to them pay raucous homage. We, who have not yet foresworn ourselves to the gods of the multitude, will erect our own temples, and from the few things yet unviolated, continue to extract some measure of satisfaction.

Our hopes, our dreams of a better world, may be but unborn children crying in the night. If this be so, it shall be our virtue not to expect success, but, nevertheless, to remain unconquered. We shall find solace in our brooding sense of victorious defeat; we shall lose consciousness of the crowd and its impinging vulgarity, seeking a far older unity with the hills and the grass.

In our age, darkness may again descend upon the face of the deep. All too soon, the abused Earth may reclaim her wandering atoms and the memory of Man, be obliterated from the face of the cosmos. But we can still enjoy the serenity of knowing that we lived for something which was the more lustrous for not having materialized. We can still dream restlessly!

HAROLD PREECE.

Nationalism

(*Continued from Page Six*)

But here is the important point. So many people are obsessed with the idea that the social problem is to get people together. They use such terms as "solidarity" and think in terms of the mass. Now anarchism which is predominately individualistic, looks in the other direction. The problem is, it seems to me, just the opposite. In order to allow the greatest amount of individual freedom we must make each person as *independent* as possible. That is the governmental idea—to get people together—and this necessitates conformity, more than is necessary under individualism.

Individuality is evinced only by *differences;* if we were all alike, there would be no such thing as individuality. Now the maintainance of individuality rests on separation and freedom, not on combination. This is philosophical but I haven't time now to show this by examples. Furthermore, the evolutionary trend of organisms is toward *greater dissimilarity*. Now, if it were possible to separate the influences of the natural wealth of countries, the proximity of nations which are beligerant because of the accumulations which the prevailing capitalism makes useless as a profitable means of investment inside the nation, or nations beligerant because of the lack of any specific and necessary natural resource, and possibly a few other considerations, if it were, I say, mentally possible to separate these influences on the turmoil within nations from the size of the nation, as such, I think we would find that the larger the nation the greater the coercion used within that nation and the greater its predatory movements. In short, the larger the organization the more need for regimentation and conformity and, things being what they are, *physical coercion.*

If this is true, and we believe it is, it forms the fundamental fallacy of communism, the political basis of which is the essence of all collectivistic schemes.

It is quite altruistic to be concerned over what may or may not happen a thousand years or so hence. Personally I see little value in such cogitations and I hope that Comrade Polinow will become as much at ease over such "problems" as I.

LAURANCE LABADIE.

Hunger

Friends from afar,
Friends from near
Come to this bier
Note the scar
Inflicted on her
By hunger and strife.
Come infer
How famine reigns
On fertile ground.

These purple stains
Here on her face,
There on her chest—
Manifest,
Friends, disgrace.
A bloodless disease
No wealth abound
Has ended her life.
In agonies.

Harry Block.

Macrometer

We cannot tell, by glancing at the tide,
Whether it's going out or coming in.
The waves approach in ordered series, win
Uncertainly to varied levels, glide
Away resignedly. Nor may we guess
Which will climb highest, which will falter, fall
Engulfed in its successor. Large or small,
They leave unseen the deeper streams that press
Them forward now—and now may draw them back.
Is ocean in retreat? Does it attack?
—We cannot tell, by glancing at the tide,
Whether it's coming in or going out.
Only that watcher may resolve the doubt
Who waits to see, and mark, the longer stride.

Buhl Edmond.

Mill Hand

He (I think his name was Sheff) always was the very first
Within (not of pearl where St. Peter, with an eye for the house, takes up tickets) the factory gate;
He worked (once his hand slipped and the flesh hung bleeding on the wheel) his time and never cursed
(He even thrashed his kids for using street language) a god of scorn and hate.

He plodded (do you remember his rusty old pants and the torn sweater against the wind?) down his shabby days
Without protest (once the boss gave him a calendar for Christmas) or jibe,
But bore his poverty (thumbing the Bible under the oil lamp) with praise
For Job (funny he never seemed to guess about his wife's fancy clothes) and all his tribe.

Until a preacher (he came from the church uptown, in a big shining car. I remember his hair being as white as his collar, and he wore a diamond on his little finger) smugly said
One Sunday (he spoke in a precise, satisfied way) "Blessed are the meek."
And suddenly (Sheff told the judge how the blood rushed into his brain) the earth ran red,
And suddenly (we all thought he was crazy) he rose to speak:

"A bloody tithe" (he stood in his pew like a mad prophet with hell in his eyes and thunder in his clenched fists) "to a god of men
Who tricks" (who would have thought the old guy had a gun on him?) "and cheats his own!
Comrades!" (it was this got him the chair; they said he was a Communist) "Comrades—" And then
He shot the preacher down.

Kathleen Sutton.

Reichstag Fire Vintage*

1933

Sling me their dripping heads,
Sacco, Vanzetti's, and mine.
While bastards sleep in their beds,
We will make a sweet wine.

And while the golden goblets clink
To the toasts that lie,
Foaming blood they will drink,
Choke, and strangling, die.

Frank Ankenbrand, Jr.

*Marinus Van der Lubbe, to whom this poem is dedicated, was executed by the Nazis regime in January, 1933.

Murder

The firing squad lined up before a brick prison wall . . . a badly frightened college student who had spoken his belief, crumpled to the ground . . . the rulers said he was a menace to government.
The hangman sprung the trap and the courageous man who dared to oppose a dictator died at the end of a rope. Rulers said he was traitor to his nation.
The warden punched a button and the boy from behind the stockyards lunged forward—then died . . . society said he was a menace to the country . . . was a robber even he robbed because he was hungry and killed when trapped like a hunted animal.
An eaon must pass before such things will be called MURDER.

William Allen Ward.

Time

Slowly grind the chariot wheels across
The desert wastes of life, unearthing bones
And cities, exposing cultures and dross
Shamelessly. Naked lie echoes of groans
And laughters. The dust raises dreams and needs
Flashing and shouting down the centuries
For man to look and hear. He sees and heeds
Not, but frantically flees the rising furies.
Yet do the truths cry him down, and at last
Intrude his dreams, and yet yank and pull and leer
At him. He cannot whirl so fast, nor fast
Enough to blur himself out in his fear.
Time, his own invention, his well of lies
Wherein he falls, startled by his own cries.

Janice Brooke.

* * *

What is the law of nature? Is it to know that my security and that of my family, all my amusements and pleasures, are purchased at the expense of misery, deprivation, and suffering to thousands of human beings—by the terror of the gallows; by the misfortune of thousands stifling within prison walls; by the fears inspired by millions of soldiers and guardians of civilization, torn from their homes and besotted by discipline, to protect our pleasures with loaded revolvers against the possible interference of the famishing! Is it to purchase every fragment of bread that I put in my mouth and the mouths of my children by the numberless privations that are necessary to procure my abundance? Or is it to be certain that my piece of bread only belongs to me when I know that every one else has a share, and that no one starves while I eat.—*Leo Tolstoi.*

THE STRUGGLE TO SAVE FERRERO AND SALLITTO

Since the first meeting of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense which was called at Stuyvesant Casino on July 22, 1935, the Conference has been broadened to include all defense bodies, various radical and liberal groups and trade unions. The conference is receiving nation-wide support from liberal professors, ministers, authors and other nationally known personages. On Sunday, January 26, at 2:30 p.m., at the headquarters of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, 218 W. 40th Street, Room 411, New York City, there will take place a special large meeting of the Conference, at which there will no doubt be many delegates from trade unions. Together with this broadening of the Conference to include large numbers of trade unions, every effort is being made to form Ferrero-Sallitto defense committees in important cities throughout the country. This will be the next step of the defense work. Already, work is progressing in San Francisco, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

It was only the splendid degree of cooperation among the participants in the defense work which enabled us to achieve what success we have had.

On December 10, a formal demand by the Immigration Bureau of the United States Labor Department was made on Vincent Ferrero to surrender himself at Ellis Island and to appear in complete readiness for deportation on the S. S. "Conte di Savoia" sailing December 28. Upon receipt of this notice, the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference made and executed plans for a nationwide protest to Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor. There were printed and sent to selected individuals and organizations throughout the United States 10,000 protests with an envelope addressed to Frances Perkins and return postal cards notifying the Conference that the protests had been sent. All of the defense groups in New York City sent these protests in their weekly mailings to all their branches and to their selected lists. Such organizations as the Greater New York Federation of Churches, the Brooklyn Federation of Churches and Missions, the League for Industrial Democracy, Workers' Alliance, etc., alone sent out over 4000 protest sets.

Approximately 2500 post cards have been returned to the Conference indicating that protests have been sent. The Conference is certain that many persons have sent protests without returning the postal cards as they did not care to have any publicity attached to their names. Among the cards returned to the Conference were approximately 175 trade unions and central trades bodies, including the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Union and numerous unions affiliated to the I. L. G. W. U., the Federation of Dyers, Finishers, Printers and Bleachers of America protesting in the name of 35,000 workers in their organization, the Toledo Central Trades, the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity, the Tri-City Labor Council, Clinton, Iowa, Cleveland, Ohio, etc., etc., and from Grand Lodge, Cleveland, Ohio, etc., etc., and from such liberal and intellectual leaders as Upton Sinclair, Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, Kate Crane-Gartz and Norman Thomas. Cards were received from the trade union leaders, Dubinsky, Antonini, Schlossberg, Zimmerman and a host of others too numerous to mention.

On December 23, a delegation went to Washington to demand of Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady that the deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallitto be dropped. The delegation consisted of Rose Pesotta, national vice president of the I. L. G. W. U., Ulisse de Domenicis, manager of the Baltimore Joint Board of the A. C. W., Albert Strong, secretary of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference and member of Journeymen Stone Cutters Union of North America and William Taback, a boilermaker and a member of the Defense Conference.

McGrady at first refused even to see the delegation, denying that he had agreed to the appointment which had been made. Only after several prominent A. F. of L. leaders, resident in Washington, had requested that the delegation be received, did McGrady yield and consent to see the delegation five hours later.

The delegation demanded that McGrady cancel the order for Ferrero's deportation and drop the prosecution of the deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallitto. This McGrady flatly refused to do. He claimed to know nothing about the cases despite the fact that this "labor" man had personally signed the deportation order. The delegation asked on what grounds the men were to be deported. Flustered by this and other irksome questions of the delegation, McGrady sent for the department's files on the two cases and an attorney of the Labor Department to advise him. McGrady declared that Ferrero and Sallitto had had their day in "court" (a hearing before the Deportation Commission of the Labor Department) and that his department had found the men guilty of advocating the overthrow of the United States Government. Pressed by the delegation for proof on this point, all McGrady could "prove" was that Ferrero and Sallitto had rented part of their restaurant premises in Oakland, California, to the editor of a magazine "MAN!", but which continues to be published and is circulated through the United States mails. The Labor Department holds that the "crime" for which Ferrero and Sallitto are to be deported is that they aided in distributing and handling the thoroughly legal paper "MAN!" but McGrady had to admit to the delegation that the Labor Department had absolutely no proof that either of the men were ever employed by "MAN!" in any capacity, nor did he have any answer to the question why it should be a deportable offense to aid in distributing a legal paper.

The delegation was able to see at first hand the tremendous volume of written protests which have already swamped the Labor Department. These were sorted in various folders in the order of their importance: unions, union leaders, well-known liberals, etc.

On December 27 at 2:00 p.m., Ferrero surrendered at Ellis Island. He was accompanied by an attorney who served a writ of habeas corpus on the officials present, thereby automatically preventing Ferrero from being shipped to Italy the following day on the S. S. "Conte di Savoia." A hearing was to have been held on the writ on January 3, but it was postponed to the 10th, because the Bureau of Immigration of the Labor Department had neglected to send the records of the case to the court, although the attorney for the defense, anticipating an adjournment on these grounds, had telegraphed to Washington that the records be sent in time for the hearing. In the meantime, Ferrero is forced to remain on Ellis Island, as bail can not be set until after the hearing on the writ.

A formal demand has now been made upon Domenick Sallitto to surrender himself at Ellis Island on January 10th for deportation to Fascist Italy on the 11th.* In the meantime, the Conference is continuing its work of having protests sent to Washington from all parts of the country. The Conference intends to fight these deportations vigorously every step of the way and to aid this fight has engaged the legal firm of Shorr & King.

Thus the Conference now has the double expense of a legal battle in the court room and also of mailing out the great mass of letters necessary to deluge Frances Perkins with the protests of the labor and liberal movements of the country. By dint of tremendous effort, the Conference has been able to raise funds to send the protests to liberal thinking and working class organizations. At this critical moment, when finances are so sorely needed, its funds are nearing exhaustion and it must ask for financial aid. All workers and others in sympathy with this fight are urged to *send their contributions as soon as possible to Albert Strong, Secretary, P. O. Box 181, Station D, New York City.*

This is not merely a fight to save Ferrero and Sallitto from deportation to Fascist Italy. It is a fight for the protection of the foreign born! It is a fight against the deportation frenzy of the authorities! It is a fight for free speech and press! It is a fight against Fascism!

SUPPORT THIS FIGHT!—NOW!

* * *

The Latest news to reach us, is that Sallitto has surrendered on the tenth of January. An habeas corpus writ was filed. Bond in his case and that of Ferrero will be set by the court, and the defense has ready the bonds that will be needed. Editor.

Notes

News from Japan reaches us that on November 11-12th, the government conducted wholesale raids upon the Free National Federation of Trade Unions at Kanda, Tokio, Osaka, Yyoto Kobe and other places. Close to 200 Anarchists and syndicalists are under arrest.

The government is accusing those arrested with responsibility for the existence of an underground anarchist communist movement. The communication from the Free National Federation of Unions not only disclaims any responsibility or association with the existence of such an underground movement, but regretfully goes to all lengths in branding it as a movement of "burglary, murder and terrorism." To say the least, such an attitude is indefensible, even when one doesn't believe in revolutionary action.

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Because of lack of interest on the part of Anarchist groups in the vicinity of New York City and other parts of United States to assist in the publication of the Spanish **Echo**, the American Publicity Committee on Spain hereby announces the dissolution of this committee; and the balance in the treasury to the amount of $21.10 has been turned over to the Secretary of the Committee for Political Prisoners of Spain organized by **Cultura Proletaria**, to be in turn sent to the National Committee for Political Prisoners in Spain.

American Publicity Committee on Spain.

* * *

The comrades of Philadelphia gathered on December 25, 1935 at the Radical Library to celebrate the 65th anniversary of the revolutionary anarchist Alexander Berkman. Speeches of his life-work in the movement were delivered. A message and appreciative token from those assembled was forwarded to Berkman.

The notice for the celebration came too late for the November-December issue as also the one of the affair that the same comrades have given for MAN! on January 18th. If other groups throughout the country would follow the example of the Radical Library, the regular monthly appearance of MAN! would be assured.

* * *

Readers who are receiving MAN! and have not paid in any subscription during 1935 will be discontinued from our mailing list with this issue. Those financially unable to pay their subscriptions will kindly request to be continued on our mailing list. We are likewise appealing to all those who have been receiving hundles to notify us of the exact amount of copies they are in need for disposing. Both measures are taken in order to reduce expenditures.

* * *

We have on hand a limited number of complete sets of all the first three years of MAN! These will be forwarded to any address at the price of two dollars postpaid.

The essay of Pierre Ramus "Why Does Anarchism Progress So Slowly?" which has appeared in the September issue, somewhat incorrect, has now been published in a revised and re-edited form. Five cents per single copy. Ten or more 30 cents.

We also have a limited quantity of specially priced editions of "The General Idea of the Revolution of the Nineteenth Century" by P. J. Prudhon at 30 cents, paper bound, and 50 cents, cloth bound, postpaid, 301 pages. It is one of the most important studies of Proudhon.

If you know of any reader who fails to receive MAN! regularly, please ask such to let us know. In many instances a wrong address is the cause.

Receipts for money sent to us are forwarded to all. Acknowledgements appear of monies received from groups.

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Financial Statement

(November 15 to December 15, 1935.)

Income	$103.57
Expenditures	111.66
Deficit from last issue	41.43
Expenditures and deficit	$153.09
Income	103.57
Deficit	$49.52

(Received from Groups)

Stelton, N. J., $3.75; Detroit, Mich., $4.00; Haverhill, Mass., $10.00; Needham, Mass., $8.82; Paterson, N. J., $10.00; Pittsburgh, Pa., $25.00; Detroit, Mich., $0.75.

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Europe has for a thousand years existed merely for the advantage of half a dozen seventh-rate families called Monarchs, and some hundreds of riffraff sarcastically called Nobles.—*Mark Twain.*

Books and Pamphlets Received

Alforria Final by Diego A. De Santillan. 22-page pamphlet. A Sementeira Caixa Postal 195 S. Paulo, Brazil.

A Talk to Teachers on History and World Unity by Frederick J. Gould. Three page leaflet. A reprint from the London **Arbitrator.**

A Trip to the North Pole and Beyond to Civilization by DeWitt F. Lewis. 96 pages, paper cover. Obtainable through E. Z. Ernst, Los Angeles California.

Consometapolis par Eugen Relgis. 192 pages, paper cover. G. Mignolet et Storz, 2 Rue Flechier, Paris-Ix-e, France.

Diet and Sex by Dr. Walter Seigmeister. 30 page pamphlet. 30 cents. 5207 15th Avenue Brooklyn, N. Y.

Heroic Quest by Frederick J. Gould. Ten Sonnets, 11 pages. Author, Armorel. Woodfield Avenue, Ealing, London, W. 5 England.

Hitler Terror in 1935 and Labor Under Hitler. Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe. 3 West 16th St., New York City, N. Y. 30-page pamphlet.

Individual Socialism by George Roe. Seven pages, 10 cents. Obtainable through MAN!

Je Repente Ici la Parole que l'on ne Droit Pas Taire by Luigi Trafelli. 31 page pamphlet. Editions Ambiorix, Rethel (Ardennes).

Juif Antisemite by C. Berneri. 110 pages, paper cover. Editions "Vita" 2, Flechier, Paris, France.

La Joie de Vivre by Albert Libertad. 8 pages. **Les Vrais Revolutionnaires** by Gerard de Lacaze-Duthriers. 5 pages. L'en Dehors, 22, Cite Saint Joseph, Orleans, France.

La Vie Tragique e Des Guides D'Humanite by Louis Rimbaut. A four page leaflet appealing for the publication of this work. Address: Louis Rimbault, "Terre Libre," Luyne, 851-46, Paris, France.

Life Problems by Shri Yogendra. 143 pages, bound. $1. Institute, Bulsar, India.

O Evangelico Do Hora by Paulo Berthelot. 48 page pamphlet. Caixa Postal, 195 S. Paulo, Brazil.

Persecution of European Labor. 21-page pamphlet. Labor Chest for Relief and Liberation of Workers of Europe. 3 West 16th Street New York City.

Petit Manuel Anarchiste Individualiste. 12 pages; and **Les Individualistes et le Fait Economique** by E. Armand.

Premises de L'Etat de Revolution Naturarchiste En France d'apres la Checauchee Makhnoviste et L'Historie by Louis Rimbault. 40-page pamphlet. Terre Libre, Luynes (Indre-et-Loire), Paris, France. (851-46.)

Religion Lives, Even Though— by Frederick J. Gould. 15-page pamphlet. C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., London, England.

Richard Carlile by G. A. Aldred. 189 pages, paper cover. **For Communism,** same author. 11 pages, paper cover, 25 cents. 145 Queen Street C. I., Glasgow, Scotland.

The Creed of Kinship by Henry S. Salt. 118 pages bound. $1.50. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York City

The Defect In Our Monetary System and the Remedy. By W. E. Brokaw, Del Rosa, Cal. 22 pages.

The Principles of Anarchism by Dr. J. A. Myerson. Translated by A. Grossner. 32-page pamphlet. 15 cents. The Jewish Anarchist Federation of America, 45 West 17th Street, New York City.

The War of the "Little Hitlers" Deutcher Freiheits Bund (League of Free Germans) New York, N. Y. 20-page pamphlet.

We Are Weaving! 22 pages. Pamphlet collection of poetry and **From Tower Walls,** 82 page pamphlet collection of poetry by Louis Filler. 706 Girard Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.

What the Bible Teaches by Louis Kalus. Erie, Pa. 38-page pamphlet.

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"That is the real issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles, right and wrong, throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time. The one is the common right of humanity, the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says 'you toil and work and earn bread and I'll eat it.'"—*Abraham Lincoln.*